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To the PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

THERE are stages in the business of serious life to which to amuse is cruel, but to deceive is to destroy; and it is of little consequence in the conclusion, whether men deceive themselves, or submit, by a kind of mutual consent, to the impositions of each other. That England has been long under the influence of delusion or mistake, needs no other proof than the unexpected and wretched situation she is now involved in. And so powerful has been the influence, that no provision was ever made or thought of against the misfortune, because the possibility of its happening was never conceived.

The general and successful resistance of America, the conquest of Burgoyne, and a war with France, were treated in parliament as the dreams of a discontented opposition, or a distempered imagination. They were believed as objects unworthy of a serious thought, and the bare intimation of them afforded the ministry a triumph of laughter. Short triumph indeed! For every thing which has been predicted has happened, and all that was promised have failed. A long series of politics so remarkably distinguished by a succession of misfortunes, without one alleviating turn, must certainly have something in it systematically wrong. It is sufficient to awaken the most credulous into suspicion, and the most obstinate into thought. The means in your power are insufficient, or the measures ill planned; either the execution has been bad, or the thing attempted impracticable; or to speak more emphatically, either you are not able, or Heaven is not willing. For, why is it that you have not conquered us? Who, or what has prevented you? You have used every opportunity you could desire, and succeeded to your utmost wish, in every preparatory means. Your fleets and armies have arrived in America without an accident. No uncommon misfortune hath intervened. No foreign nation hath interfered until the time you had allotted for victory was past. The opposition either in or out of parliament, neither disconcerted your measures retarded or diminished your force; they only foretold your fate. Every ministerial scheme was carried with as high a hand as if the whole nation had been unanimous. Every thing wanted was asked for, and every thing asked for was granted. A greater force was not within the compass of your abilities to send, and the time you sent it was of all others the most favourable. You were then at rest with the whole world beside. You had the range of every court of Europe uncontradicted by us. You amused us with a tale of Commissioners of Peace, and under that disguise collected a numerous army, and came almost unexpectedly upon us. The force was much greater than we looked for; and that which we had to oppose it with, was unequal in numbers, badly armed, and poorly disciplined; beside which, it was embodied only for a short time, and expired within a few months after your arrival. We had governments to form; measures to concert; an army to raise and train, and every article to import or to create. Our non importation scheme had exhausted our stores, and your command by sea intercepted our supplies. We were a people unknown, and unconnected with the political world, and strangers to the disposition of foreign powers. Could you possibly wish for a more favourable conjunction of circumstances? Yet all these have happened and passed away, and as it were left you with a laugh. They are likewise events of such an original nativity as can never happen again, unless a new world should arise from the ocean.

If any thing can be a lesson to presumption, surely the circumstances of this war will have their effect. Had Britain been defeated by any European power, her pride would have drawn consolation from the importance of her conquerors; but in the present case, she is excelled by those she affected to despise, and her own opinions, reporting on herself, become an aggravation of her disgrace. Misfortune and experience are lost upon mankind when they produce neither reflection nor reformation. Evils, like poisons, have their uses, and there are diseases which no other remedy can reach. It has been the crime and folly of England to suppose herself invincible, and *that*, without acknowledging or perceiving that a full third of her strength was drawn from the country she is now at war with. The arm of Britain has been spoken of as the arm of the Almighty, and she has lived of late as if she thought the whole world created for her diversion. Her politics, instead of civilizing, has tended to brutalize mankind, and under the vain unmeaning title of "Defender of the Faith," she has made war like an Indian on the religion of humanity. Her cruelties in the East Indies will *never, never* be forgotten; and it is somewhat remarkable, that the produce of that ruined country, transported to America, should there kindle up a war to punish the destroyer. The chain is continued, though with a kind of mysterious uniformity, both in the crime and the punishment. The latter runs parallel with the former; and time and fate will give it a perfect illustration.

Where information is with-held, ignorance becomes a reasonable excuse; and one would charitably hope, that the people of England do not encourage cruelty from choice but from mistake. Their reclusé situation, surrounded by the sea, preserves them from the calamities of war, and keeps them in the dark as to the conduct of their own armies. They see not, therefore they feel not. They tell the tale that is told them, and believe it; and accustomed to no other news than their own, they receive it, stript of its horrors and prepared for the palate of the nation, through the channel of the London Gazette. They are made to believe, that their Generals and armies differ from those of other nations, and have nothing of rudeness or barbarity in them. They suppose them what they wish them to be. They feel a disgrace in thinking otherwise and naturally encourage the belief from a partiality to themselves. There was a time when I felt the same prejudices and reasoned from the same errors; but experience, sad and painful experience has taught me better. What the conduct of former armies was I know not, but what the conduct of the present is I well know. It is low, cruel, insolent and profligate; and had the people of America no other cause for separation than what the army has occasioned, *that alone* is cause enough.

The field of politics in England is far more extensive than that of news. Men have a right to reason for themselves, and though they cannot contradict the intelligence in the London Gazette, they may frame upon it what sentiments they please. But the misfortune is, that a general ignorance has prevailed over the whole nation respecting America. The ministry and the minority have both been wrong. The former was always so; the latter only lately so. Politics to be executively right, must have a unity of means and time, and a defect in either overthrows the whole. The ministry rejected the plans of the minority while they were practicable, and joined in them when they became impracticable. From wrong measures they got into wrong time, and have now completed the circle of absurdity by closing it upon themselves.

It was my fate to come to America a few months before the breaking out of hostilities. I found the disposition of the people such, that they might have been led by a thread and governed by a reed. Their suspicion was quick and penetrating, but their attachment to Britain was obstinate, and it was, at that time, a kind of treason to speak against it. They disliked the ministry, and they esteemed the nation. The ideas of grievance operated without resentment, and their single object was reconciliation. Bad as I believed the ministry to be, never conceived them capable of a measure so rash and wicked as the commencing of hostilities; much less did I imagine the nation would encourage it. I viewed the disputes as a kind of law-suit, in which I supposed the parties would find a way either to decide or settle it. I had no thoughts of independence or of arms. The world could not then have persuaded me, that I should be either a soldier or an author. If I had any talents for either they were buried in me, and might ever have continued so, had not the necessity of the times dragged and driven them into action. I had formed my plan of life, and conceiving myself happy, wished every body else so. But when the country, into which I had but just put my foot, was set on fire about my ears, it was time to stir. Those who had been long settled had something to defend; those who were just come had something to pursue; and the call and the concern was equal and universal. For in a country where all men were once adventurers, the difference of a few years in their arrival could make none in their right.

The breaking out of hostilities opened a new suspicion in the politics of America, which though at that time very rare, has been since proved to be very right. What I allude to is, "a secret and fixt determination in the British cabinet not to annex America to the crown of England as a conquered country." If this be taken as the object, then the whole line of conduct pursued by the ministry, though rash in its origin, and ruinous in its consequences, is nevertheless uniform and consistent in its parts. It applies to every case and resolves every difficulty. But if taxation or any thing else be taken in its room, then is there no proportion between the object and the charge. Nothing but the whole soil and property of the country can be placed as a possible equivalent against the millions the ministry expended. No taxes raised in America could possibly repay it. A revenue of two millions sterling a year would not discharge the sum and interest accumulate the ten, in twenty years.

Reconciliation never appeared to have been the wish or the object of administration, they looked on conquest as certain and infallible, and under that persuasion, sought to drive the Americans into what they might file a general rebellion, and then crushing them with arms in their hands, reap the rich harvest of a general confiscation and silence them forever. The dependants at court were too numerous to be provided for in England. The market for plunder in the East Indies was over; and the profligacy of government required that a new mine should be opened, and that mine could be no other than America conquered and forfeited. They had no where else to go. Every other channel was drained; and extravagance, with the thirst of a drunkard, was gaping for supplies.

If the Ministry deny this to have been their plan, it becomes them to explain what was their plan. For either they have abused us in coveting property they never laboured for, or they have abused you in expending an amazing sum upon an incompetent object. Taxation, as I mentioned before, could never be worth the charge of obtaining it by arms; and any kind of formal obedience which America could have made, would have weighed with the lightness of a laugh against such a load of expence. It is therefore most probable, that the ministry, will at last justify their policy by their dishonesty, and openly declare, that their original design was conquest: And in this case it well becomes the people of England to consider how far the nation would have been benefited by the success.

In a general view there are very few conquests that repay the charge of making them, and mankind are pretty well convinced that it can never be worth their while to go to war for profit like. If they are made war upon, their country invaded, or their existence at stake, it is their duty to defend and preserve themselves, but in every other light, and from every other cause is war inglorious and detestable. But to return to the case in question:

When conquests are made of foreign countries, it is supposed that the *commerce* and *dominion* of the country which made them are extended. But this could neither be the object nor the consequence of the present war. You enjoyed the whole commerce before. It could receive no possible addition by a conquest, but on the contrary, must diminish as the inhabitants were reduced in numbers and wealth. You had the same *dominion* over the country which you used to have, and had no complaint to make against her for breach of any part of the compact between you and her, or contending against any established custom commercial, political, or territorial. The country and the commerce were both your own when you began to conquer, in the same manner and form as they had been your own a hundred years before. Nations have sometimes been induced to make conquests for the sake only of reducing the power of their enemies, or bringing it to a balance with their own. But this could be no part of your plan. No foreign authority was claimed here, neither was any such authority suspected by you, or acknowledged or imagined by us. What then, in the name of Heaven, could you go to war for? or what chance could you possibly have in the event, but either to hold the same country which you held before, and that in a much worse condition, or to lose with an amazing expence what you might have retained without a farthing charge?

War never can be the interest of a trading nation, any more than quarreling can be profitable to a man in business. But to make war upon those who trade with us, is like setting a bull-dog upon a customer at the shop door. The least degree of common sense shews the madness of the latter, and it will apply with the same force of conviction to the former. Piratical nations, having neither commerce or commodities of their own to lose, may make war upon all the world and lucratively find their account in it. But it is quite otherwise with Britain. For besides the stoppage of trade in time of war, she exposes more of her own property to be lost, than she has the chance of taking from others. Some ministerial gentlemen in Parliament have mentioned the greatness of her trade as an apology for the greatness of her loss. This is miserable politics indeed! because it ought to have been given as a reason for her not engaging in war at first. The coast of America commands the West India trade almost as effectually as the coast of Africa does that of the streights, and England can no more carry on the former without the consent of America, than the latter without a Mediterranean pass.

In whatever light the war with America is considered upon commercial principles, it is evidently the interest of the people of England not to support it; and why it has been supported so long against the clearest demonstrations of truth and national advantage, is to me, and must be to all the reasonable world a matter of astonishment. Perhaps it may be said that I live in America, and write this from interest. To this I reply, that my principles are universal. My attachment is to all the world and not to any particular part, and if what I advance is right, no matter where or who it comes from. We have given the proclamation of your Commissioners a currency in our news papers, and I have no doubt but you will give this a place in yours. To oblige and be obliged is fair.

Before I dismiss this part of my address I shall mention one more circumstance in which I think the people of England have been equally mistaken; and then proceed to other matter.

There is such an idea existing in the world as that of *national honour*, and this, falsely understood, is oftentimes the cause of war. In a Christian and philosophical sense mankind seem to have stood still at individual civilization, and to renew as nearly all the original rudeness of entire. Peace by treaty, is only a cessation of violence, not a reformation of sentiment. It is a substitute for a principle that is wanting, and ever will be wanting, till the idea of *national honour* be rightly understood. As individuals, we profess ourselves christians but as nations we are heathens Romans, and what not. I remember the late Admiral Saunders declaring in the House of Commons, and that in the time of peace "*that the city of Madrid laid in ashes was not a sufficient atonement for the Spaniards taking off the rudder of an English sloop of war.*" I do not ask whether it is christianity or morality, I ask whether it is decency? whether it is proper language for a nation to use? In private life we should call it by the plain name of bullying and the elevation of rank can not alter its character. It is I think exceedingly easy to define what ought to be understood by *national honour*, for *that* which is the best character for an individual is the best character for a nation, and wherever the latter exceeds or falls beneath the former, there is a departure from the line of true greatness.

I have thrown out this observation with a design of applying it to Great Britain. Her idea of national honour seems devoid of that benevolence of heart, that universal expansion of philanthropy, and that triumph over the rage of vulgar prejudice, without which man is inferior to himself and a companion of common animals. To know whom he shall regard or dislike, he asks what country they are of, what religion they profess, and what property they enjoy. Her idea of national honour seems to consist in national insult, and that to be a great people, is to be neither a christian, a philosopher, or a gentleman, but to threaten with the rudeness of a bear, and to devour with the ferocity of a lion. This perhaps may be found harsh and uncourtly, but it is too true, and the more is the pity.

I mention this only as her general character. But towards America she has observed no character at all, and destroyed by her conduct what she assumed in her title. She set out with the title of *parent or Mother Country*. The association of ideas which naturally accompany this expression are filled with every thing that is fond, tender, and forbearing. They have an energy particular to themselves, and overlooking the accidental attachment of common allusions, apply with peculiar softness to the best feelings of the heart. It is a political term which every mother can feel the force of, and every child can judge of. It means no painting of mine to set it off, for nature only can do it justice.

But has any part of your conduct to America corresponded with the title you set up? If in your general national character you are unpolished and severe, in this you are inconsistent and unnatural, and you must have exceeding false notions of national honour, to suppose that the world can admire a want of humanity, or that national honour depends on the violence of resentment, the inflexibility of temper, or the vengeance of execution.

I would willingly convince you and that with as much temper as the times will suffer me to do, that as you exposed your own interest by quarreling with us, so likewise your national honour, rightly conceived and understood was no ways called upon to enter into a war with America. Had you studied true greatness of heart, the first and fairest ornament of mankind, you would have acted directly contrary to all that you have done, and the world would have ascribed it to a generous cause, besides which you had (though with the assistance of this country) secured

powerful name by the laſt war. You were known and dreaded abroad, and it would have been wiſe in you to have ſuffered the world to have ſlept undiſturbed under that idea. It was to you, a force exiſting without expence. It produced to you all the advantages of real power; and you were ſtronger through the univerſality of *that charm*, than any future fleets and armies may probably make you.

Your greatneſs was ſo ſecured and interwoven with your ſilence, that you ought never to have awakened mankind, and had nothing to do but to be quiet. Had you been true politicians you would have ſeen all this, and continued to draw from the magic of a name, the force and authority of a nation.

Unwiſe as you were in breaking the charm, you were ſtill more unwiſe in the manner of doing it. *Samſon* only *told the ſecret*, but *you* have *performed the operation*; you have ſhaven your own head, and wantonly thrown away the locks. America was the hair from which the charm was drawn that infatuated the world. You ought to have quarrelled with *no power*; but with *her* upon no account. You had nothing to fear from any condeſcention you might make. You might have humoured her, even if there had been no juſtice in her claims, without any riſk to your reputation; for Europe faſcinated by your fame, would have aſcribed it to your beneficence, and America, intoxicated by the grant, would have ſlumbered in her fetters.

But this method of ſtudying the progreſs of the paſſions, in order to aſcertain the probable conduct of mankind, is a philoſophy in politics, which thoſe who preſide at St. *James's* have no conceptions of. They know no other influence than corruption, and *reckon* all their probabilities from precedent. A new caſe is to them as a new world, and while they are ſeeking for a parallel they are loſt. The talents of Lord Mansfield can be eſtimated at beſt no higher than thoſe of a Sophiſt. He underſtands the ſubtleties but not the elegance of nature; and by continually viewing mankind thro' the cold medium of the law, never thinks of penetrating into the warmer region of the mind. As for Lord North, it is his happineſs to have in him more philoſophy than ſentiment, for he bears flogging like a top and ſleeps the better for it. His puniſhment becomes his ſupport, for while he ſuffers the laſh for his ſins, he keeps himſelf up by twirling about. In politics he is a good arithmetician, and in every thing elſe nothing at all.

There is one circumſtance which comes ſo much within Lord North's province as a financier, that I am ſurpriſed it ſhould eſcape him, which is, the different abilities of the two countries in ſupporting the expence; for, ſtrange as it may ſeem, England is not a match for America in this particular. By a curious kind of reſolution in accounts, the people of England ſeem to miſtake their poverty for their riches, that is, they reckon their national debt as a part of their national wealth. They make the ſame kind of error which a man would do, who, after mortgaging his eſtate, ſhould add the money borrowed, to the full value of his eſtate to count up his worth, and in this caſe he would conceit that he got rich by running into debt. Juſt thus it is with England. The Government owed at the beginning of this war 135 MILLIONS, and though the individuals to whom it was due, had a right to reckon their ſhares as ſo much private property, yet to the nation collectively it was ſo much poverty. There is as effectual limits to public debts as to private ones, for when once the money borrowed is ſo great as to require the whole yearly revenue to diſcharge the intereſt thereon, there is an end to all further borrowing; in the ſame manner as when the intereſt of a man's debt amounts to the yearly income of his eſtate, there is an end to his credit. This is nearly the caſe with England, the intereſt of her preſent debt being at leaſt equal to one half of her yearly revenue, ſo that out of Ten Millions annually collected by taxes, ſhe has but Five ſhe can call her own.

The very reverſe of this was the caſe of America. She began the war without any debt upon her, and in order to carry it on, ſhe neither raiſed money by taxes, nor borrowed it upon intereſt, but *created* it: and her ſituation at this time, continues ſo much the reverſe of yours, that taxing would make her rich, whereas it would make you poor. When we ſhall have *funk* the ſum which we have created, we ſhall then be out of debt, be juſt as rich as when we began, and all the while we are doing it, ſhall feel no difference, becauſe the value will riſe as the quantity decreaſes.

There was not a country in the world ſo capable of bearing the expence of a war as America; not only becauſe ſhe was not in debt when ſhe began, but becauſe the country is young and capable of infinite improvement, and has an almoſt boundleſs tract of new lands in ſtore; whereas England has got to her extent of age and growth, and has no unoccupied lands or property in reſerve. The one is like a young heir coming to a large improveable eſtate; the other like an old man whoſe chances are over, and his eſtate mortgaged for half its worth.

In the ſecond number of the Criſis which I find has been re-publiſhed in England, I endeavoured to ſet forth the impracticability of conquering America. I ſtated every caſe, that I conceived could poſſibly happen, and ventured to predict its conſequences. As my concluſions were drawn not artfully but naturally, they have all proved to be true. I was upon the ſpot, knew the politics of America, her ſtrength and reſources, and by a train of ſervices, the beſt in my power to render, was honoured with the friendſhip of Congreſs, the army and the people. I conſidered the cauſe a juſt one. I know and feel it a juſt one and under that confidence never made my own profit or loſs an object. My endeavour was to have the matter well underſtood on both ſides, and I conceived myſelf rendering a general ſervice, by ſetting forth to the one the impoſſibility of being conquered, and to the other the impoſſibility of conquering. Moſt of the arguments made uſe of by the Miniſtry for ſupporting the war, are the very arguments that ought to have been uſed againſt ſupporting it; and the plans by which they thought to conquer, are the very plans in which they were ſure to be defeated. They have taken every thing up at the wrong end. Their ignorance is aſtoniſhing, and were you in my ſituation you would ſee it. They may perhaps have your confidence, but I am perſuaded they would make very indifferent Members of Congreſs. I know what England is, and what America is, and form this compound of knowledge, am better enabled to judge of the iſſue, than what the King or any of his Miniſters can be.

In this number I have endeavoured to ſhew the ill policy and diſadvantages of the war. I believe many of my remarks are new. Thoſe which are not ſo, I have ſtudied to improve and place in a manner that may be clear and ſtriking. Your failure is I am perſuaded as certain as fate. America is above your reach. She is at leaſt your equal in the world, and her Independence neither reſts upon your conſent, or can be prevented by your arms. In ſhort, *you* ſpend your ſubſtance in vain, and impoveriſh yourſelves without a hope.

But ſuppoſe you had conquered America, what advantage, collectively or individually, as merchants, manufacturers, or conquerors, could you have looked for. Ruining for the ſound of victory, and led away by the phrenſy of arms, you neglected to reckon either the coſt or the conſequences. You muſt all pay towards the expence; the pooreſt among you muſt bear his ſhare, and it is both your right and your duty to weigh ſeriouſly the matter. Had America been conquered, ſhe might have been parcelled out in grants to the favourites at court, but no ſhare of it would have fallen to you. Your taxes would not have been leſſened, becauſe you ſhould have been in no condition to have paid any towards your relief. We are rich by a contrivance of our own, which would have ceaſed as ſoon as you became maſters. Our paper money will be of no uſe in England, and gold and ſilver we have none. In the laſt war you made many conqueſts, but were any of your taxes leſſened thereby? On the contrary, were you not taxed to pay for the charge of making them, and have not the ſame been the caſe in every war.

To the Parliament I beg to addreſs myſelf in a particular manner. They appear to have ſuppoſed themſelves partners in the chace, and to have hunted with the lion from an expectation of a tight in the booty; but in this it is moſt probable they would, as legiſlators, have been diſappointed. The caſe is quite a new one, and many unforeſeen difficulties would have ariſen thereon. The Parliament claimed a legiſlative right over America, and the war originated from that preſence. But the army is ſuppoſed to belong to the crown, and if America had been conquered thro' their means, the claim of the Legiſlature would have been ſunk in the conqueſt. Ceded or conquered countries are ſuppoſed to be out of the authority of Parliament. Taxation is exerciſed over them by prerogative not by law. It was attempted to be done in the Grenades a few years ago, and the only reaſon why it was not done was, becauſe the crown had made a prior relinquiſhment of its claim. Therefore, Parliament have been all this while ſupporting meaſures for the eſtabliſhment of their authority, in the iſſue of which they would have been triumphed over by the prerogative. This might have opened a new and intereſting oppoſition between the Parliament and the Crown. The Crown would have ſaid that it conquered *for itſelf*, and that to conquer for Parliament was an unknown caſe. The Parliament might have replied, that America not being a *foreign* country, but only a country in *rebellion*, could not be ſaid to be *conquered*, but *reduced*; and thus continued their claim by diſowning the term. The Crown might have rejoined, that however America might be conſidered at *firſt*, ſhe became foreign at *laſt* by a declaration of Independence and a *treaty with France*; and that her caſe being, by *that treaty*, put within the law of nations, was out of the law of Parliament. The Parliament might have maintained, that as their claim over America had never been *ſurrendered*, ſo neither could it be *taken away*. The Crown might have inſiſted, that tho' the claim of Parliament could *not be taken away*, yet being an *inferior* it might be *ſuperceded*; and that, whether the claim was withdrawn from the object, or the object taken from the claim, the ſame ſeparation enſued; and that America being ſubdued after a treaty with France, was to all intents and purpoſes a regal conqueſt, and of courſe the ſole property of the King. The parliament, as the legal delegates of the people, might have contended againſt the term "*inferior*" and rejected the caſe upon the antiquity of power, and this would have brought on a ſet of intereſting and rational queſtions:

Firſt. What is the original fountain of power and honour in any country.

Secondly, Whether the prerogative does not belong to the people.

Thirdly, Whether there is any ſuch a thing as the Engliſh conſtitution?

Fourthly, Of what uſe is the Crown to the people?

Fifthly, Whether he who invented a crown was not an enemy to mankind?

Sixthly, Whether it is not a ſhame for a man to ſpend a million a year and do no good for it, and whether the money might not be better applied?

Seventhly, Whether ſuch a man is not better dead than alive?

Eighthly, Whether a Congreſs, conſtituted like that of America, is not the moſt happy and conſiſtent form of government in the world?—With a number of others of the ſame import.

In ſhort, the contention about the dividend might diſtracted the nation; for nothing is more common than to agree in the conqueſt and quarrel for the prize; therefore it is, a happy circumſtance that our ſucceſſes have prevented the diſpute.

If the Parliament had been thrown out in *their* claim, which it is moſt probable they would, the nation likewiſe would have been thrown out in *their* expectation; for as the taxes would have been laid on by the Crown without the Parliament, the revenue ariſing therefrom, if any could have aroſe, would not have gone into the Exchequer, but into the privy purſe, and ſo far from leſſening their taxes, would not even have been added to them, but ſerved only as pocket money to the Crown. The more I *reflect* on this matter the more am I aſtoniſhed at the blindneſs and ill policy of my countrymen, whoſe wiſdom ſeems to operate without diſcernment, and their ſtrength without an object.

To the great bulwark of the nation, I mean the mercantile and manufacturing part thereof, I likewiſe preſent my addreſs. It is your intereſt to ſee America an independant country and *not* a conquered one. If conquered ſhe is ruined, if ruined, poor; conſequently the trade will be a triſle, and from *her flouriſhing* muſt *your profits* ariſe. It matters nothing to you who governs America, if your manufactures find a conſumption there. Some articles will conſequently be obtained from other places, and right they ſhould, but the demand of others will encreaſe by the great influx of inhabitants which a ſtate of independance and peace will occaſion, and on the final event you may be enriched. The commerce of America is perfectly free, and ever will be ſo. She will confign away no part of it to any nation. She has not to her friends, and certainly will not to her enemies, though it is probable that your narrow minded politicians, thinking to pleaſe you thereby, may ſome time or other make ſuch an unneceſſary propoſal. Trade flouriſhes beſt when it is free, and it is weak policy to attempt to fetter it. Her treaty with France is on the moſt liberal and generous principles, and the French in their conduct towards her has proved themſelves to be philoſophers, politicians and gentlemen.

To the miniſtry I likewiſe addreſs myſelf. You, gentlemen, have ſtudied the ruin of your country, from which it is not within your abilities to reſcue her. Your attempts to recover are as ridiculous as your plans which involved her are deteſtable. The Commiſſioners being about to depart, will probably bring this, and with it my 6th number to them; and in ſo doing they carry back more *Common Senſe* than they brought, and you likewiſe will have more than when you ſent them.

Having thus addreſſed you ſeverally, I conclude by addreſſing you collectively. It is a long lane that has no turning. A period of ſixteen years of miſconduct and misfortune, is certainly long enough for any one nation to ſuffer under; and upon a ſuppoſition that war is not declared between France and you, I beg to place a line of conduct before you that will eaſily lead you out of all your troubles. It has been hinted before, and cannot be two much attended to.

Suppoſe America had remained unknown to Europe till the preſent year, and that Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in another voyage round the world, had made the firſt diſcovery of her in the ſelf ſame condition ſhe is now in of arts, arms, numbers and civilization. What I aſk in that caſe, would have been your conduct towards her, for *that* will point out what it ought to be now? The problems and their ſolutions are equal, and the right line of the one is the parallel of the other. The queſtion takes in every circumſtance that can poſſibly ariſe. It reduces politics to a ſimple thought and is moreover a mode of inveſtigation, in which, while you are ſtudying your intereſt, the ſimplicity of the caſe will cheat you into good temper. You have nothing to do but to ſuppoſe you have found America, and ſhe appears found to your hand, and while in the joy of your heart you ſtand ſtill to admire, the path of politics riſes ſtrait before you.

Were I diſpoſed to paint a contraſt, I could eaſily ſet off what you *have done* in the *preſent caſe*, againſt what you *would have done* in *that caſe*, and by juſtly oppoſing them, conclude a picture that would make you bluſh. But as when any of the prouder paſſions are hurt, it is much better philoſophy to let a man ſlip into good temper than to attack him in a bad one. For that reaſon therefore, I only ſtate the caſe and leave yourſelves to reflect upon it.

To go a little back into politics, it will be found, that the true intereſt of Britain lay in propoſing and promoting the independence of America immediately after the laſt peace; for the expence which Britain had then incurred by defending America *as her own dominions*, ought to have ſhewn her the policy and neceſſity of changing the *ſide* of the country, as the *beſt* probable method of preventing future wars and expence, and the *only* method by which ſhe could hold the commerce without the charge of ſovereignty. Beſides which, the title ſhe aſſumed of *Parent Country* naturally led to, and pointed out, the propriety, wiſdom and advantage of a ſeparation; for, as in private life children grow into men, and by ſetting up for themſelves extend and ſecure the intereſt of the whole family, ſo in the ſettlement of colonies large enough to admit of maturity, the ſame policy ſhould be purſued, and the ſame conſequences would follow. Nothing hurts the affections both of parents and children ſo much as living too cloſely connected, and keeping up the diſtinction too long. Domineering will not do over thoſe, who by a progreſs in life are become equal in rank to their parents, that is, when they have families of their own; and though they may conceive themſelves the ſubjects of their advice, will not ſuppoſe themſelves the ſubjects of their government. I do not, by drawing this parallel, mean to admit the title of *Parent Country*, becauſe, if due any where, it is due to Europe collectively, and the firſt ſettlers from England were driven here by perſecution. I mean only to introduce the term for the ſake of the policy, and to ſhew from your title, the line of your intereſt.

When you ſaw the ſtate of ſtrength and opulence, and that by her own induſtry, which America had arrived at, you ought to have adviſed her to have ſet up for herſelf, and propoſed an alliance of intereſt with her, and in ſo doing, you would have drawn, and that at her *own* expence, more military ſupplies and aſſiſtance both of ſhips and men, than from any

weak and wrangling government you could exercise over her. In short, had you studied only the domestic politics of a family, you would have learned how to govern the state; but instead of this easy and natural line, you flew out into every thing which was wild and outrageous till by following the passion and rapidity of the pilot you wrecked the vessel within sight of the shore.

Having shewn what you *ought* to *have done*, I now proceed to shew the reason why it was *not done*. The caterpillar circle of the Court, had an interest to pursue distinct from, and opposed to yours for though by the independance of America and an alliance therewith, the trade would have continued if not increased, as in many articles neither country can go to a better market, and though by defending and protecting herself, she would have been no expence to you, and consequently your national charges would have decreased and your taxes might have been proportionably lessened thereby, yet the striking off so many places from the Court Calender was put in opposition to the interest of the nation. The loss of thirteen government-ships with their appendages here in England is a shocking sound to the ear of a hungry courtier. Your present King and Ministry will be the ruin of you; and you had better risk a revolution and call a Congress than be thus led on from madness to despair and from despair to ruin. America has set you the example, and may you follow it, and be free.

I now come to the last part, *a war with France*. This is what no man in his senses will advise you to, and all good men would wish to prevent. Whether France will declare war against you, is not for me in this place to mention, or to hint even if I knew it, but it must be madness in you to do it first. The matter is now come to a *full crisis*, and peace is easy if willingly set about. Whatever you may think, France has behaved handsomely to you. She would have been unjust to herself to have acted otherwise than she did; and having accepted our offer of alliance, she gave you genteel notice of it. There was nothing in her conduct reserved or indelicate, and while she announced her determination to support her treaty she left you to give the first offence. America on her part, has exhibited a character of firmness to the world. Unprepared and unarmed, without form or government she singly opposed a nation that domineered over half the globe. The greatness of the deed demands respect; and though you may feel resentment, you are compelled both to WONDER and ADMIRE.

Here I rest my arguments and finish my address. Such as it is, it is a gift and you are welcome. It was always my design to dedicate a *Crisis* to you, when the time should come that would properly *make it a Crisis*; and when, likewise, I should catch myself in a temper to write it, and suppose you in a condition to read it. That time is now arrived, and with it, the opportunity of conveyance. For the commissioners—*poor Commissioners!*—having proclaimed, that "*in sixty days, and Ninevah shall be overthrown.*" have waited out the date, and discontented with their God, are returning to their guard. And all the harm I wish them is, that it may not *wither* about their ears, and that they may not make their exit in the belly of a Whale.

Philadelphia, November 11, 1778. COMMON SENSE.

P.S. Tho' in the tranquility of my mind I have concluded with a laugh, yet I have something to mention to the *Commissioners*, which to them is serious and worthy their attention. Their authority is derived from an act of parliament, which likewise describes the *limits* of their *official* powers. Their commission, therefore, is only a recital, and personal investiture, of those powers, or a nomination and description of the persons who are to execute them. Had it contained any thing contrary to, or gone beyond the line of, the written law from which it is derived and by which it is bound, it would, by the English constitution, have been treason in the Crown, and the King been subject to an impeachment. He dared not, therefore, have put in his commission what you have put into your proclamation, that is, he dared not have authorised you in that commission to burn and destroy, or to threaten to burn and destroy, any thing in America. You are both in the *Act* and in the *Commission* stiled *Commissioners for restoring Peace*, and the methods for doing it are there pointed out. Your last proclamation is signed by you as Commissioners *under that Act*. You make Parliament the patron of its contents. Yet in the body of it, you insert matters contrary both to the spirit and letter of the Act, and what likewise your King dared not have put in his commission to you. The state of things in England, Gentlemen, is too ticklish for you to run hazards. You are *accountable to Parliament for the execution of that Act according to the letter of it*. Your heads may pay for breaking it, for you certainly have broke it by exceeding it. And as a friend, who would wish to see you escape the paw of the Lion as well as the belly of the Whale, I civilly hint to you, *to keep within compass*.

Sir Harry Clinton, strictly speaking, is as accountable as the rest; for tho' a General, he is likewise a Commissioner, acting under a superior authority. His first obedience is to the Act; and his plea of being a General will not and cannot clear him as a Commissioner, for that would suppose the Crown in its single capacity, to have a power of dispensing with an Act of Parliament. Your situations, Gentlemen, are nice and critical, and the more so because England is unsettled. Take heed! Remember the times of Charles the first! For Laud and Strafford fell by trusting to a hope like yours.

Having thus shewn you the danger of your proclamation, I now shew you the folly of it. The means contradict the design. You threatened to lay waste in order to render America a useless acquisition of alliance to France. I reply, that the more destruction you commit (if you could do it) the more valuable to France would you make that alliance. You can destroy only houses and goods; and by so doing you increase our demand upon her for materials and merchandize, for the wants of one nation, provided it has FREEDOM and CREDIT, naturally produces riches to the other; and as you can neither ruin the land nor prevent the vegetation, you would encrease the exportation of our produce as payment, which to her would be a new fund of wealth. In short, had you cast about for a plan on purpose to enrich your enemies you could not have hit upon a better. C.S.

A great Number of New *Advertisements omitted this Week shall have places in our next.*

New Advertisements.

To be Sold,

Agreeable to the directions of *James* Donnom's will, on Thursday the 6th of January next, by Messrs. Webb and Bentham,

TWO valuable pleasant and well improved plantations at Campbell Hill (excepting about 150 acres thereof given to his son *Joseph*, and marked off by a ditch, &c.) situated on the north side of Saltcatcher great swamp, containing about 1550 acres each, and above two thirds good cane swamp, well timbered with tupelo and a very large quantity of choice cypress, fit for sawing, boat-building, &c. each of the said plantations having about 130 acres of rice land cleared, and under good dams and fences, with good command of water from different branches, a necessary quantity of provision and pine land for fencing and sawing, with good pastures and cane ranges for cattle, and distant from a landing about ten miles, upon a good road. The prospect is beautiful, and the situation of the settlement high, pleasant and healthy. On one of the plantations are a good dwelling house and other out buildings, the other has an overseer's house and needful buildings, with a hammer machine: The land will best recommend itself by the last crop made thereon, than any other commendation that can be given of it; Also a tract containing 600 acres of pine barren, adjoining the Rev. Mr. Simpson's plantation, well timbered, fit for sawing, three miles from Saltcatcher landing. Likewise two tracts of land situated on the Saltcatchers, Prince Williams Parish, one of them 350 acres, adjoining the plantation of Mr. Henry Jackson and Capt. William Harden's; the other containing also 350. below and adjoining the said Henry Jackson's plantation, and on lands now of late the property of Charles Brown, Esq; each tract having about 200 acres of good swamp land well timbered with cypress and good pine for fencing &c. fifteen miles from Pocotaligo, and thirteen across Saltcatcher Bridge. Also a small tract of eight acres and a quarter of land, situate in the suburbs of Jacksonburgh, and bounding to the east on Ponpon River. One or two years credit may be had for any or the whole of the above land, paying the interest punctually, and good security given by the purchaser.

Strayed or Stolen from the Subscriber's Door, in the night of the 4th inst. a Chicasaw Bay Horse, about 14 Hands high, aged, his off hind and near fore Feet white, has a remarkable broad Hawk Nose, and a Blaze, is branded on the near shoulder 23 and has some other marks.

If strayed, any person giving information, so that he may be had again, shall receive Ten Dollars Reward, but if stolen, on Conviction of the Offender, will receive Fifty Dollars. EDWARD WEYMAN

For Private Sale,

TWO Houses and twelve Lots of Land in Ansonborough, situate on George and St. Philip's Streets, the road leading out of town, or King-Street continued; and an 18 feet alley, leading from said Streets.

1174 acres of land in St. George's Parish, on Indian Field swamp, distant about 55 miles from Charles-town, being part of a Tract of 1500 acres, originally granted to Peter Marion, and adjoins at present Mr. David Rumph's plantation, being the remaining part of said tract.

700 acres in Craven County, on the N.W. of Enoree river, on a branch thereof called M'Guire's Fork of Warrior's Creek, bounding on lands of Edward Garrett, Thomas Gordon, Esq; Col. James Mayson and John Maxwell.

250 acres in Craven county on the N. side of Santee river, bounding on lands of Edward Lightwood and Peter Marryck.

350 acres in Berkley county, on Bull swamp, bounding on lands surveyed for Alexander Garden, and on Jacob Miller's lands.

500 acres in St. Mathew's parish on Four-hole swamp, bounding on lands of James Parsons, Florence M'Carley, and Michael Posser.

150 acres in Berkley County on Bush Creek, granted to Catharine Pinckney.

150 acres in Berkley county, in the forks between Broad and Saludy rivers, on a creek called Duncan's Creek the waters of Enoree and Broad rivers, granted to Obadiah Edwards.

100 acres in Berkley county, in the fork between Broad and Saludy rivers, bounded on Broad river, granted to Henry Kutra.

500 acres, being an undivided part of 1600 acres originally granted to Capt. Philip Dawes, situate in Berkley county, bounding, at the time it was granted, to the West on lands laid out for Jonathan Palmer, to the South on lands laid out for Lang Smith, to the East on the Hon. Thomas Broughton Esq's land, and to the North on James Sinclair's land.

510 acres on the South side of Wateree river, bounding eastwardly and southwardly on said river, north westwardly on lands of Aaron Loocock, Esq; westwardly on lands of Mr. M'Cords and southwardly on lands of James Parsons, Esq; 350 acres of which is fine swamp, lying high and on an island formed by Little river, and is contiguous to the high land. The tract may be made a very valuable plantation.

Any person incapable to purchase, may apply for a further description and other particulars to the subscriber, who hereby gives notice to those who are yet indebted to him on open account, that he cannot in justice to himself, indulge them any longer than till the 28 of February next, and will after that time apply to the law; He also requests those indebted to him by bond or note to pay up the interest that is due, or they must expect to be called upon for both that and the principal. THOMAS JONES.

To be Sold for Cash,

A Young Negro Wench, a good washer and ironer, plain cook, tolerable good seamstress, and understands making soap. Apply to the printers.

RUN away from the subscriber about four days ago, a Negro Fellow name JUNE; he formerly sailed with Captain Josiah Young, and lately on board the Fair American: He is well made, about five feet eight inches high, had on when he went away, a white jacket, a check shirt, a pair of black broad cloth breeches, a cocked hat with a cockade; he may probably attempt to ship himself on board some vessel as a free fellow; therefore all masters of vessels are desired not to ship or employ him. Twenty Dollars will be paid to any person that will deliver him to the subscriber, near the White Meeting, or to the warden of the Workhouse, with all reasonable charges. RICHARD COLE.

Long Point, Dec. 8.

TAken up adrift, by the subscriber's negroes, a Canoe built Boat, seventeen feet long and four feet two inches wide, her sides newly repaired, rows with two oars, has a short chain, and is branded in the stern NB. The owner may have her, by proving his property, paying for this advertisement and a small trifle to the negroes. SAMUEL FLEY.

THE Members of THE ANCIENT YORK MASONS LODGE, *No.* 190, *purpose celebrating the festival of St. John the Evangelist, on Monday the* 28*th inst. (the* 27*th being Sunday) at the house of Mr. Muckinfuss, in King-street.—The Members of the Lodge are desired to give their Attendance at* 11 *o'clock A.M.*

Tickets, without which none can be admitted, may be had any time before the 27*th, by applying to Messrs. Philip Will, Richard Ellis, or Charles Ramadge.*

On Thursday the 17*th of December, will be sold at Public Vendue, before our Store in Broad-Street, at noon,*

A New House and Lot, in Queen-Street, opposite Mrs. Smith's, Mantua maker, of which possession may be had immediately, the keys being in our hands. It may be divided into two tenements very conveniently. WEBB and BENTMAN.

LOST on Thursday Morning, *in the Hurry and Confusion of removing from the Danger of the fire, two SILVER WATCHES, the Maker's Name on one* C. Reynolds, *London, No.* 2097; *the other Maker's Name* Clayton, *No. forgot. Whoever Hands they have fallen into, on returning them to the Subscriber, opposite the White Meeting, shall be sufficiently rewarded: But if offered for Sale, Forty Dollars will be paid on Conviction of the Thief.* H. MILLING.

STrayed or stolen from the subscriber at Dorchester, 13 or 14 months past, A Black Horse, about 14 hands high, branded on the mounting shoulder JB, and is about 8 years old. Any person delivering said horse to the subscriber, at Dorchester, shall receive 20 dollars reward, and reasonable charges. JOHN BRADWELL.

December 1.

THE subscriber, in order to avoid the expence of a clerk, the disagreeable trouble of repeatedly sending for monies due for storage at his wharf; to prevent unnecessary disputes on transferring the property of goods stored, and for other reasons, finds himself under the necessity of giving this notice, That for the future, nothing stored at his wharf will be delivered till the storage is paid, which he is persuaded no gentleman either of the landed or trading interest will take amiss. CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.

ANY persons having demands against the estate of Sir John Colleton, Bart, deceased, are desired to call on the subscriber for payment, OTHNIEL GILLS.

STrayed or stolen from the subscriber, about the 7th ult. a dark brown Horse, about 14 hands high, 5 or 6 years old, has a star in his forehead, with several white spots on his back, and branded on the off shoulder like J L, has a short switch tail, and a scar on the joint of his off hind leg. Any person delivering the said Horse to me in Charlestown, will receive twenty Dollars Reward. ALEXANDER MACKBETH.

JOhn Brown informs me of a black Horse, about 13 hands high, with a star in his forehead, both hind feet white, and is branded on the mounting shoulder not to be understood; having strayed into his pasture, about four miles from Charlestown. The Owner must prove his property before JOHN TROUP, J.P.

RUN away from the subscriber on Saturday night, last a Negro Wench named CLOE, about 25 years of age, lusty and well made, has a remarkable bushy head of hair; she carried with her her two children, Barney, about two years old, and Jinebel, a mulatto, about three months old; She formerly belonged to John Sandford Dart, Esq; who sold her to Col. Eveleigh, from whom I purchased her in September last. She has a scar under one of her shoulders, where she was stabbed with a bayonet. I will give eight Dollars reward to any person that will deliver her to the warden of the workhouse or to me, and a further reward of fifty pounds to any person who can prove she is harboured by a white persons and ten pounds if by a negro. All persons are hereby forbid harbouring or concealing her, as they may expect to answer it at their peril; 'tis supposed she is about the plantation of John Sandford Dart, Esq; in Christ-church parish, as she has an extensive acquaintance there. THOMAS BUTTLER.

N.B. Any Gentleman in want of a person to instruct boys in the weaving business, may hear of a man as capable as any in this state, by applying as above.

Twenty Dollars Reward.

RUN away from the Subscriber last Friday, the 4th Inst. A Negro Fellow named JACOB, about 5 Feet two Inches high, this Country born, a well set, large lip'd, bandy legged Fellow: He took away with him a Roan Horse about 14 hands high, branded on the mounting Butock F, his Mane and Tail the same Colour, between 6 and 7 Years old, the Mane dressed on the Right Side. The said Fellow is well known by a Number of Gentlemen in Town and Country to be a notorious Villain: whoever shall meet with him, is desired not to take his Life, as I intend to bring him to Justice: Any Person delivering him to me will be entitled to the above Reward with all reasonable Charges. JOHN GEALEY, warden of the work-house.

For SALE,

HAVANA SUGAR, of an extra Quality, in Cases of about 400 lb. each. Apply at our Counting-house in Tradd street. D. HALL, and Co.

Pursuant to the last Will and Testament of the late Thomas Loughton Loughton Smith, Esq; deceased, and an Act of Assembly in that case made and provided, will be sold at Public Vendue, on Thursday the 17th day of December,

THE House and Lot in Church-street, belonging to the estate of the said deceased, at present occupied by Mrs. Simpson: The house requires little description, being well known; the frame is of black cypress, and all the rooms genteelly finished with the best materials. Adjoining the house, are all the necessary and convenient out buildings for a large family. The lot contains 175 feet on Church-street, and 120 feet on Queen-street, more or less, so that several commodious lots may be laid out on the premises, independent of the present buildings. Also, That pleasant and most agreeable situated PLANTATION on Cooper river, called the Retreat, containing 530 acres; it is about 7 miles distance from town, commands a prospect of the river, the Bar, Sullivant's Island, &c. The garden and improvements were originally laid out by Sir James Wright, late Governor of Georgia, and may, with a little labour, be again put in good order. On the premises are a large brick kitchen, used for some time past as a dwelling house, a wash-house, coach house, stables, poultry house and negro houses: there are a few elegant vases and statues in the garden which will be sold with the premises. Also,

A very valuable TRACT of LAND containing 3000 acres on the waters of Pacolet, butting and bounding N. E. all lands of Stephen Miller, S.E. on vacant land; all other sides on lands laid out. The conditions will be declared at the sale. THOMAS SMITH.
A. INGLIS.

LOST on Saturday Night the 5th Instant, on the Market Wharf, a blue and white Handkerchief, with an old pair of blue and a new pair of black cloth breeches lined: As there were two boats laying at the wharf, which it is thought belonged to Gooseereek or Edisto, if they or any other person will deliver the same to Mr. John M'Call, Taylor, in Charles-Town, shall have the above reward, or to me on James-Island. WILLIAM ROYALL.

To be Sold at Private Sale,

A Large and Valuable Lot of Land the Corner of Meeting and Hazel Streets, being in front of Meeting-street 110 feet, and on Hazel-street 130, which may be divided into four good Lots, three in Meeting-street and one in Hazel-street, the plat of the ground may be seen and further information had of JACOB VALK.

William Smith informs me of a Bay Mare 13 hands and a half high, branded on both shoulders something like Y. The Owner must prove his property before JOSEPH BRAILSFORD.

A Quantity of Strong-made Negro SHOES, and knit Worsted Stockings to be disposed of at Messi. Lestarjette, Carrier and Company's Store.

To be sold by Auction,

On Tuesday the 15th Inst. at the West-end of the State-House,

ABout One Hundred Chests of White and Brown Havana Sugar containing about Four Hundred Pounds Weight each, being very convenient for Families. The Sale to begin precisely at 11 o'Clock.

WEBB and BENTHAM.

For BOURDEAUX, to sail immediately after the Embargo is taken off, the following vessels, viz.

THE Ship Bofmarin, Capt. Benjamin Carpenter; The Ship Verner, Capt. Christopher Turpein; The Brigantine Patriot, Capt. James Burnel. For Freight of Tobacco or Indico, apply to

JOHN S. CRIPPS and MIX.

ALL Persons indebted to ALEXANDER GILLON, or Alexander Gillon and Company, on open account, are requested to settle the same by the first of January next, after which time all that remain unsettled will be given into the hands of an Attorney at Law.—Wanted to hire, a pew in St. Philip's church.

To be sold at public Vendue,

At Mr. Strickland's near Charlestown, on Thursday the the 31st of December next,

AN entire gang of Twenty Valuable Slaves, among whom are two good Mowers, a Carter and Gardner; twelve Months Credit will be given, paying Interest and giving Security; and a reasonable Discount allowed to such as chuse to pay the Cash on the Day of Sale. Should any Person chuse to purchase the whole before the twenty-second day of the Month, they may, and public Notice will be given of it: But no private Sale will be made after that Day, that such as intend being at the Vendue may not be disappointed.

LOST in the Hurry and Confusion of removing, during the Fire on Tuesday Morning last, sundry Linen, Shifts, and wearing Apparel, among which are a Pair of treble laced Ruffles quite new, several Pairs of Sheets and Table Cloths, marked P. W. also a Cotton Counterpane and many other Articles. Persons to whom they were intrusted are desired immediately to restore them to Mr. Plowden Weston in Queen-street; if any Part of them should be stolen, a handsome Reward, in proportion to their Value, will be paid to those who deliver them as above, and Fifty Dollars on Conviction of the Thief.——There are also missing a pair of small round Silver set Buckles.

STopped this Morning, Dec. 8, from a Negro Fellow, who is suppose to have stolen it from some Sufferer at the Fire, a Boy's Great Coat. The Owner may have it again (paying for this Advertisement) by applying to Mr. Rivers, at Amen Corner.

To be sold at public Vendue,

On Thursday the 18th of December next, before our Store in Broad-street,

A SCOONER that will carry about 90 Barrels of Rice, with good Sails, Anchors and Cables.

WEBB and BENTHAM.

Two Hundred Dollars

WILL be given for a Negro Man named GEORGE, but who sometimes calls himself Tom; He ran away the 14th day of June last, is about 25 years old, and about five feet 9 inches high, speaks broken English, the calves of his legs have been burnt, and where healed are white, his navel is very large, being as big as a hen's egg; He was once taken up on or near the head of Catawba river, but made his escape, and was supposed to make for South Carolina: He has a smiling countenance. Whoever will bring said negro to the subscriber in Salisbury, shall receive the above reward from me, JOHN-LEWIS BEARD.

N.B. If any person takes up said negro and secures him, so that the subscriber have intelligence of him, and can get him again, shall receive a reward of One Hundred Dollars, from said subscriber.

Ten Dollars Reward.

STrayed or stolen from the subscriber's plantation at Goosecreek, A Bay Gelding, about fourteen hands high, between 4 and 6 years old, branded on the left shoulder and buttock A, trots and canters very easy, and is remarkably tame. Whoever delivers the said Gelding at the plantation aforesaid, or to me in Charles Town, shall have the above reward, and all reasonable charges. DANIEL THARIN.

By Order of the late General Assembly.

The Commissioners of the Treasury give Notice,

THAT all Bonds and Notes due the Public for duties and otherwise, if not paid off by the 1st of January next, will be lodged with the Attorney General to sue for the same. And that in future no paper bills, notes, or money, but such as have been issued by authority of this or the United States, or of this State when a Colony, will be received at the Treasury.

And further, the Commissioners of the Treasury give this Public Notice, That they continue to receive Money on Loan to the State as before.

WILLIAM PARKER, } Commissioners.
JOHN M'CALL, }

For Private Sale,

A Plantation of about 370 acres on the north side of Santee River, within 60 miles of Charlestown, joining lands of William Burrows, Esq; and the estate of Mr. Cooper; 300 acres of which are high land, pleasantly situate and well watered, part of it is cleared and under good fence, with several convenient buildings on it: Also 60 to 70 acres of high swamp, all fit for indico, and some of it out of the reach of freshes.—With the above will be sold, if desired, any quantity of swamp nearer the river, not exceeding 40 acres. JACOB VALK.

To be sold, by Order of the Privy Council,

A Quantity of Public SALT,

WHICH got damaged by dirt in the late fire. Any person in want of that Article, for private use, may be supplied at four pounds per bushel, by applying at the public store in Meeting-street, the corner of St. Michael's Alley, to JOHN CALVERT.

To be sold at private sale,

A Few Lots in Charlestown, in point of situation, with regard to prospect, height of land, good water and conveniency for trade, inferior to none in the town, being opposite to a quay 230 feet front, so near the channel of the river, that any ship that can come over the bar may lay afloat at low water, from one end to the other, much within the distance fixed by law, and which is so land locked and guarded besides by a pier 80 feet front on the river, projecting to the north east beyond it into the channel, and throwing off the ebb tide, that the ships may load there with the greatest ease and safety, much more so in hard easterly winds than in most parts of the harbour; and it is well known, that from the number of stores, their contiguity to the head of the quay and other conveniences no place can hardly be better calculated for dispatch, as many gentlemen in trade have frequently experienced. The lots, as in my plan, to be seen at Mr. Poaug's, Mr. Gamble's, or at my house, lay on each side of a street called Front-street, 50 feet wide; those to the east side are 175 feet deep, those to westward thereof 200 feet deep; these last have a double front, backing on Middle street, 40 feet wide. The lots may be seen staked out on the spot. CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN.

N. B. A place of 200 feet in length, and of a sufficient breadth on the east side of Wharf street, and between that street and the west side of the dock behind the quay and the large stores, will be left for a publick market place, reserving to myself and heirs the usual rights of wharfage and tollage, where canoes will be intirely safe from damaging themselves or each other.

LOST in the Hurricane, the beginning of August last, a pettiaugua, about 50 feet keel, her upper works as well as quarter-deck and forecastle new, beamed for a main deck, her timbers of mulberry or cedar. Whoever delivers the said pettiaugua, or gives information where she may be had, to Col. Peter Tearling, or John Waudin in Savannah; William Bennet, junior, in Sunbury; John Prioleau, at Pocotaligo; or Richard Wayne, in Charlestown, shall be generously rewarded.

For Private Sale,

A Plantation, situate in Prince William's parish, on the Salketcher swamp, bounded by lands of Mr. Bee, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Pearson, and on the Salketcher high road, containing 908 acres of land proper for rice, corn, and indico, having fine streams of back water: On the premises are a comfortable dwelling house, overseer's house, barn, negro houses, and other necessary buildings, also several sets of indico vats.—The purchaser may have one or two years credit if required, paying interest, and giving bond with approved security. JACOB VALK.

For Private Sale,

A very valuable Tract of Land of 1900 Acres,

OF which about 800 acres are swamp, well calculated for 3 or 4 settlements, with a natural drain, and proper branches for reserves; being an entire island swamp, and not subject to freshes, having its own command of water. The uplands are high and very pleasant to settle upon, and is an excellent range for cattle. Its situation is about two miles from the great Cooshatchie swamp, and about 8 miles from a landing. For further particulars enquire of JACOB VALK.

To be sold on Wednesday the 13th of January, 1779, at my room, at Twelve o'clock.

A Valuable Plantation, containing 800 acres, about 30 miles from George-Town, near the sea beach, on Long-bay, Waccamah, in the large swamp, called the Eight Mile Swamp, joining lands of Doctor John Syme, Mary Withers and Theodore Trezvant: The land is exceeding good for indico and provisions. JACOB VALK.

For Private Sale,

AN agreeable and pleasant retreat, about 35 miles from Charlestown, with plenty of good land, a fine house, and all necessary out buildings, fit for pleasure and profit.

Also, all the lands late the property of William Hall, deceased, at Euhany Ferry, Pedee, well known to be as good for indico as any on Pedee; and at the Ferry on the Bluff, an exceeding good situation for a store or tavern. Credit will be allowed if required. JACOB VALK.

To be sold on Wednesday the 23d of December, at my room in Church-street, at Twelve o'clock,

THat valuable and pleasant Plantation in St. Thomas's parish, about 12 miles from Charlestown and one from a landing, between Captain Fogarty's and Mr. Addison's Ferries, about a mile and a half from each and seven from Scott's ferry, which makes it very convenient to town, as the boats go and come constantly every day, containing 360 acres old measure, 100 acres of which is very good rice land, about 80 acres cleared, and the rest is plenty of good sawing timber, on which is a good two story house, with four chambers, a hall and pantry, with a piazza the whole length of the front, ten feet wide, with Venetian blinds around it, also a wash house, kitchen, fowl-house, stable and chair-house, a large barn, overseer's house and negro houses, all new, with a garden adjoining the house, containing about two acres paled in, and in front a large yard pallisaded in, likewise an orchard of young trees different sorts, with other necessaries; it fronts the road. JACOB VALK.

To be Sold,

On Wednesday the 13th of January, 1779, at my room in Church street, at twelve o'clock,

A TRACT of LAND,

OF 150 acres, on Shoak's Creek, a Branch of Santee River, Craven County, joining land of Mr. Mathew Singleton. And

A Tract of Land of 100 acres on little Turky Creek, joining Lands of Anna-Elizabeth Schwark.

JACOB VALK.

For private Sale,

A Well settled Plantation on the N.W. side of the Four-hole swamp, about a mile from the bridge: it contains nearly 500 acres, of which one hundred are good oak and hickory land, fit for corn, indico or tobacco, and from 50 to 60 acres of good rice land, which with a small expence of dams, may be overflowed at pleasure; the remainder is well timbered pine land: On the premises are a tolerable dwelling, a corn and pease house 30 by 15, stable, barn, fowl-house, smoak-house, kitchen and carriage house, with a good orchard of near 200 peach trees, and a few others of the best kind, with excellent water, and is a high, healthy and pleasant settlement, and where there is now fitted up for working a large and complete still-house, 34 by 20, with two stills already fixed with worm and worm tubs, 5 vats for mashing grain, pump tubs, and every other article used in that way; also about three or four hundred bushels of grain for the use of the still, and a mill to grind it that works with one horse. JACOB VALK.

To be sold at private Sale,

A Valuable Tract of Land of two hundred and fifty acres, on Santee or Cedar creek, mostly river swamp, joining lands laid out for John Everett, Walter M'Daniel, Major Wise and others, at the time of the Grant in 1765, and is about 15 miles above Colonel Thomson's. JACOB VALK.

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